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## *ITALIAN MODERNISM, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS*

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PACIFIC THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

During the past year a prolonged stay in Italy gave me occasion to visit most of the larger cities between Naples and the Alps, and supplied the opportunity of personal contact with many of the men who are now at the helm of Italian social, religious, and philosophical movements, while at the same time I was able to obtain first-hand acquaintance with the thoughts and desires of the Italian laborer. I soon became aware of the variety, intensity, and complexity of the issues which are now agitating Italian public life. It is true that Latin blood warms more rapidly, and reaches a higher temperature in controversy, than that of the Anglo-Saxon. But no superficial grievances are those over which conflict now rages; both in politics and in religion the contending parties feel that the joust of the tournament-field has become a battle for existence.

To an outside observer the most significant thing in Italian life today is the widening breach between the Roman hierarchy and the proletariat. I was in Florence in the autumn of 1909, when the news was flashed over the continent that Professor Ferrer had been executed by the Spanish authorities. Repeated efforts had been made to secure the intervention of the Vatican on his behalf; while meantime the anticlerical press had industriously circulated the report that the activity of the Spanish Jesuits was responsible for the outcome of Ferrer's prosecution, and that his conviction had received the secret approval of the Holy See.<sup>1</sup> Ferrer had become a great favorite in Italy, especially

<sup>1</sup> It is but just to state that this charge was met by a denial from the Vatican, —with small effect, however, in allaying public feeling.

in masonic and socialistic circles, and the announcement of his execution aroused throughout the country extraordinary manifestations of popular indignation, which took the form of enormous parades and mass meetings of remonstrance. The Italian press, practically with one accord, described the death of Ferrer as another blow aimed by a mediaeval church at modern social and intellectual progress. Editorials glowed with passionate denunciation, and recalled the case of Giordano Bruno, from the pedestal of whose monument in Rome orators harangued the crowds that swarmed into the Piazza Campo di Fiore. In Florence every shop was closed, and the barred shutters bore the legend, "Closed on account of international mourning." Similarly in other cities, notably in Rome and Milan, all business came to a standstill; the people listened to inflammatory speeches, and paraded the streets in numbers estimated in some instances to have exceeded fifty thousand. In numerous places churches were set on fire, and priests beaten in the streets. In Florence press and people even demanded that the *Via dell' Arcivescovado*—"Archbishopric Street," between the bishop's palace and the Duomo—be rebaptized with the name of Francesco Ferrer! Most of the demonstrations took place under socialistic auspices, but the multitudes that participated in them far outreached the numbers that socialism can claim in Italy. The masses of the working-people in the Italian cities have developed a state of mind in which they are ready to believe the faintest assertion of the church's hostility to their interests.

Social phenomena of this nature are always significant. They can occur only where an influential part of the population has not merely grown aggressively independent of ecclesiastical authority, but has also lost fear and respect for the same. Still more significant, in this instance, is the fact that this revolutionary feeling is spreading among the working-classes—a stratum of society which has heretofore blindly submitted to the dictates of the church. It is true that in the country districts and in the small villages the common people still constitute the faithful who yield unquestioning obedience to the Roman hierarchy; but in the larger industrial centres, where a socialist propaganda has been carried on, the number of those who are either indiffer-

ent or hostile to the church is so great that it may well be a cause for alarm to the Vatican.

The effort to discover the antecedent causes of these phenomena leads to an inquiry into the general political and economic situation in Italy in its relation to the church. The Vatican's attitude during the past decade toward movements for the betterment of living conditions among Italian wage-earners is found to be no inconsiderable factor in the situation. For in Italy, as in other Latin countries, religious problems are much complicated by dominant political and economic tendencies.

But a word of caution is needed at this point. It is precarious to generalize on Italian social conditions and tendencies without taking into account the great regional differences which exist. "Italy is only a geographical expression," said Metternich in allusion to the great diversity of governments and interests that characterize the different parts of the Italian peninsula. Since the unification of Italy into a kingdom there has been a gradual growth of uniformity in national characteristics; but the inherited regional differences are still so great that it is all but impossible to make any general statements about internal conditions. Lombardy and Sicily represent the extremes; but Tuscany, which lies between them, is very different from either. Furthermore, each of the larger divisions has its own crop of local differences, such as it would be impossible to find within a given area in any other part of Europe. As Villari<sup>2</sup> pertinently observes, the various Italian schools of painting, sculpture, and architecture, some of them crowded into the restricted area that holds Pisa, Florence, and Siena, are but manifestations of differences that extend in each case to the whole life of the people. They are survivals of the communal particularism of the one-time city-states.

The greatest contrast, obviously, exists between the North and the South. The inhabitants of the former describe their region as *L' Alta Italia* and refer contemptuously to the Southerners as *Meridionali*. Lombardy and Piedmont are progressive, and have grown wealthy by a great variety of successful industries. In

<sup>2</sup> L. Villari, *Italian Life in Town and Country*, 1905.

the South agricultural occupations predominate, and the mass of the population is wretchedly poor. On the Sorrento peninsula once populous villages are almost entirely depopulated. Its half-starved inhabitants have heard the call of that new world of plenty toward which the Italian Columbus was the first to turn the daring prows of his Spanish caravels. Walking through streets of empty, forsaken houses, and cities once full of wealth and splendor, now left to a few squalid idlers, one realizes that Italy has a Southern question of critical importance. The usual baleful association of illiteracy and crime with destitution confronts one at every step. One report gives the percentage of illiterates among military recruits from the provinces of Piedmont and Naples as fourteen per cent and fifty-one per cent respectively, while in Sicily it rises to fifty-five per cent. The Mafia and Camorra are characteristic products of Southern Italy, where during two given years the number of murders per hundred thousand of the inhabitants ranged between twenty-four and twenty-eight, whereas in Lombardy and Venetia it was only two and three. The moral poverty of religion as practised in some of the southern provinces is sufficiently indicated by the fact that in some of the criminal associations formed among the *mafiosi* in Sicily images of saints are introduced as part of the initiation rites.

These regional differences serve to explain the contrast between the many beautiful examples of religious life which one meets among cultivated Roman Catholics of the North, and the degrading forms of superstition which religion has assumed in the South. One who has witnessed ritual functions connected with the pretended liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples,<sup>3</sup> or has seen the loathsome spectacles afforded by some of the pilgrimages—that to Casalbordino, for instance—not to mention the numerous nodding saints and curtseying madonnas, can only wonder why the Roman hierarchy still maintains an attitude of acquiescence toward what Free Catholics and modernists are denouncing as palpable imposture. Certain it is that no severer critics of these practices have arisen than are now to be found among modernists in Italy. Apropos of the excommunication

<sup>3</sup> For a description see Renato Fucini, *Napoli a occhio nudo*. A brief translated extract is given in Arthur H. Norway, *Naples*, p. 140.

of Loisy and the case of a Camorrist priest of Naples whom the ecclesiastical authorities failed to punish, one of them takes occasion to observe that "something is seriously wrong in a church where the gates swing wide before a priest who has sinned openly against society, but close remorselessly before one who has dared to declare that St. Thomas did not set forth truth in its finality."

## I

The history of economic class-struggles in Italy began early. In his *Communist Manifesto* F. Engels makes her the first of the capitalistic nations. In keeping with this finding is the fact that banks, the calculus, and modern forms of commerce all originated in Italy. There the mediaeval city-state reached its completest development. Florence, for instance, grew out of the successful struggle of the *bourgeoisie* with the nobility. In the modern struggle of the Italian proletariat for better conditions of living socialism is on the firing-line, and its attitude toward the church, as we have seen, is bitterly hostile. What has led to this hostility?

For the purpose of our inquiry it is not necessary to review the beginnings of socialism in Italy. It will suffice to call attention to a few progressive movements of recent years. Notable among them is that of the agricultural population in the valley of the Po. It requires no imagination to picture the lot of an Italian farm-laborer who out of paltry earnings averaging seventy-five dollars a year had to pay the living-expenses of his family, not to mention the extra tax imposed by sickness. Even more pitiable was the condition of the so-called *risaiole* (rice-girls) in Lombardy and Venetia. Bent over under a broiling sun, they stood up to their knees in a swamp all day. Thirteen hours they worked, and in many places walked ten miles daily to and from their places of employment. For this work, which exacts an awful toll of disease and death, they received as a rule not more than twenty cents a day. Since the law regulating the employment of children in factories did not apply to agricultural occupations, children were largely employed at ten cents a day, often displacing the poor women. It is a malarial region,

and the consequences are sufficiently indicated by the mortality statistics. In the summer of 1901 ninety-six deaths occurred in a certain community of forty-two hundred persons. There had been no epidemic, yet fifty-five of the ninety-six were children.

These conditions in the early nineties led to the organization of the Mantuan Federation of the Society of Workmen and Farmers.<sup>4</sup> But it did not succeed in achieving results until it went over to the socialist party, which gave it a coherent organization. The real struggle began in 1898. "Leagues for Betterment" sprang up like mushrooms in the rural districts, and "Leagues of Resistance" were formed to support the striking organizations during the period of unemployment. In three years they forced the landlords to a general increase of wages ranging from seven to twenty-four per cent. The *risaiolo* secured an average increase of eighteen per cent, and the right of determining by contract the length of the day's labor.

During the struggle the strikers had to encounter the opposition of the "Catholic Leagues," composed mainly, according to Achille Loria,<sup>5</sup> of barons, tutors, and priests. The poor laborers felt that they should have had the assistance, not the opposition, of the clergy where the betterment of social and economic conditions was so urgently needed. Socialists were quick to come to their aid. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that laboring people in Italy feel friendly toward socialism, notwithstanding the uncompromising hostility of the Roman Catholic church. This new clash of interests helped to deepen the popular impression that the church is the defender of barons, capital, and inherited privileges, and consequently unfriendly to schemes for social betterment involving the reduction of the employer's profits. It probably would be fairer to say that the church, as a conservative institution, simply ranges itself on the side of things as they are. But the laborer does not regard the matter from this point of view.

Thus it appears that the conservatism of the clergy, resulting

<sup>4</sup> Roberto Michels, "Der italienische Sozialismus auf dem Lande," in *Das freie Wort*, 1902.

<sup>5</sup> Achille Loria, *Problemi sociali contemporanei*, Milan, 1895.

in part from papal dictation, in part from training, forms an element of our problem. In 1873 the opposition of the Roman Catholic church to the state led to the abolition of the theological faculties at the universities. The consequences have been gratifying to the clerical party but unfortunate for Italy. It inaugurated those anticultural tendencies which have placed the Roman hierarchy not only in declared antagonism to the state, but to modern social progress as well. It is the penalty which an institution pays for living a life of negations. The mass of the Italian clergy is saturated with anticultural ideas. Suppressed at the universities, the study of religion has been restricted to Roman Catholic theology. As such it has become a veiled science of the priests and has secluded itself in their seminaries. Of these Italy alone is reported to have about three hundred, of which hardly more than forty or fifty have teachers who deserve to be called professors.<sup>6</sup> Professor Minocchi tells of a visit he paid in 1903 to the present pope, who was then Cardinal Sarto.<sup>7</sup> During the interview conversation turned on the book of Abbé Loisy, *The Gospel and the Church*. Cardinal Sarto took occasion to say that there were many important and beautiful pages in it, and that Loisy had clearly proved that there was need of considerable overhauling in the current science of the church and its seminaries. When Professor Minocchi expressed surprise that he, as cardinal, did not exert his authority to improve the state of ecclesiastical studies in the seminaries, Sarto replied: "Alas! I should like to; it is not my will that is lacking; it is the men. For my own diocese I have scarcely anybody to whom I can intrust a curriculum conformable with modern requirements. The professors in the seminaries are in general old, badly educated, and with many prejudices, and one cannot remove them as easily as one would like." Parenthetically we may add here that the hospitable attitude toward modern ideas implied in this interview was apparent only. For, as Professor Minocchi adds, "six months later Cardinal Sarto was Pope Pius X, and was condemning Loisy."

<sup>6</sup> Süddeutsche Monatshefte, June, 1908. Cf. also Nos. 25 and 27 of Das zwanzigste Jahrhundert, 1908, on the Italian seminaries.

<sup>7</sup> In his "Autobiographical Notes of a Modernist," The New Age, June 2, 1910.



A book<sup>8</sup> said to have for its author a confidant of Pius X deplores the lack of energetic, high-minded men among the Italian clergy, and charges that even among the higher dignitaries of the church there are individuals who "unhesitatingly mount upon the shoulders of the devil in order to attain their ends." In the "*Encyclica ferox*," as the students of the *Collegium Germanicum* at Rome have nicknamed the antimodernist encyclical, the present pope has a word of implied praise for the qualities which give modernists distinction among the rank and file of the Italian clergy,—upright life, untiring energy, and devotion to study. But in the same encyclical he commands the directors of the seminaries to "seek with utmost diligence to know the youths who desire to enter the clergy; and if you find among them any one of proud disposition, with any resoluteness, bar him from the priesthood."

In an earlier communication to the Italian bishops on the subject of modernism and Christian democracy he directed them not to permit young clerics to attend the universities except for the weightiest reasons and with the utmost precautions; newspapers they must not be permitted to read at all, and periodicals only with episcopal permission. The seminary libraries, mere remnants of what was not confiscated by the state, have received few additions since 1800, and the books are in any case kept under lock and key.<sup>9</sup> "Is it not true," asks one writer, "that the library in ever so many seminaries is the most inaccessible part of the building, and full of dust and bad odors? There is no need of a reading-room, for the simple reason that no literary or scientific periodicals are kept."<sup>10</sup>

A clergy recruited in this way, mostly from the lower strata of society, and trained remote from all vital contact with modern life and thought, is not likely to exhibit power of initiative or to interest itself in social reform. If it produces leaders, it will be by accident, not by design. Nevertheless the clergy of this

<sup>8</sup> Pio X: Suoi atti ed intendimenti, 1905.

<sup>9</sup> Prezzolini, Il cattolicesimo rosso, p. 31, "Le Biblioteche non contengono che i resti di quelle non incamerate dallo Stato, e in ogni caso non vi si trova nulla che passi il 1800, e anche quello e tenuto sotto chiave."

<sup>10</sup> Rivista di Cultura, October 16, 1906, p. 118; Studii religiosi, vol. i, p. 288.

small country has to provide about two hundred and ninety bishops. The result, as regards intellectual and administrative ability, can hardly be satisfactory. Yet they are the ones who exercise ecclesiastical surveillance over the rank and file of the young clergy to prevent them from becoming tainted with modern ideas and to keep them from straying beyond the bounds of the Thomistic theology. There is both truth and humor in the remark of a bright young modernist priest who found it necessary to rebel against the ruling of an obscurantist bishop. "Ill fortune," said he, "awaits the flock whose shepherd is himself a sheep."

The strength of prejudices implanted by early training and the bilboes of such discipline explain why the work of noted lay theologians like Mariano, Labanca, and Chiapelli remains without influence upon clerical education. To be caught reading theological books without the church's imprimatur is a serious matter for a young priest. Hence, in the words of an Italian writer, "Obedience has become the cardinal virtue of a good Catholic. From a religious society which fears above everything schism and heresy, from a body of priests whose watch-word is to close the eyes, to conceal differences, and to avoid personal initiative, no free and independent characters can arise."<sup>11</sup>

We have seen that the hostile attitude of the Vatican toward the state helped to inaugurate anticultural tendencies among the clergy. What was at first a political issue between ecclesiastical and lay authority developed on the part of the church into a settled disapproval of intellectual activities and nationalizing tendencies which the state endeavors to promote. It follows that the increase of national feeling in Italy involves in some measure the abstraction of allegiance from the Vatican. An Italian holding a high position said to me, "It is difficult for an Italian to be a good Catholic and a good patriot at the same time, owing to the uncompromising attitude of the Vatican, which tries to enforce its pretensions to temporal power as an essential dogma of religion."

The papal bull *Non expedit*, issued by Leo XIII, forbade faith-

<sup>11</sup> Prezzolini, op. cit. p. 15.

ful Catholics to participate in the general elections. It was intended to embarrass the government, which the Vatican considers illegitimate. In the minds of the faithful this intransigent attitude had the effect of handing over the state to atheism and irreligion.

The dilemma thus created is now resolving itself to the disadvantage of the church, for the present generation is occupying itself increasingly with national politics. Soon after his election Pius X appears to have realized that abstention from the general elections is a disastrous policy for the Vatican to pursue. When the question of divorce came up at the elections of 1904, the *Non expedit* was "integrated." This consisted in not renewing the prohibition, as on previous occasions, thus leaving the matter to the individual initiative of every Catholic citizen. At the same time an intimation was conveyed to certain bishops in northern Italy that by way of exception the Holy See would not be displeased if on this occasion the faithful should participate in the elections.<sup>12</sup> The result was that many socialistic candidates were defeated by clericals, and a Catholic party whose energy was chiefly directed against socialism made its appearance in politics. In other words, the *Non expedit* was intended to be a standing protest against a political revolution, but it was deemed expedient to sacrifice it in order to forestall an impending social revolution. The warfare between socialism and Roman Catholicism is now carried into politics.

It seems important to define at this point the fundamental issue between the Vatican and Italian socialism. To say that the church expressly ranges itself on the side of what would be called in this country "the interests" would be doing scant justice to Roman Catholicism, which in its own way has shown a real sympathy for the material well-being of the masses. Its ideal is that of a people well nourished, not too venturesome in its thinking, and submissive to theocratic rule. However, it founds the social redemption of the submerged not upon the demands of justice, but upon the moral obligation of charity. The laborer should appeal to the employer's sense of Christian duty,

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Roberto Michels, *Proletariato e borghesia*, pp. 219 ff.

and the latter should yield obedience to the Golden Rule. This view was taken by Leo XIII in his encyclical *Rerum novarum*, in which he deplored the misery of the laboring classes, but at the same time condemned socialism unreservedly.

Now this appeal to discretionary charity socialism rejects as unworthy of the laborer. It bases its programme of social reform, or revolution, upon the principle of justice, and uses the economic power of its associations to enforce what it regards as the laborer's rights. Along the line of these differences a mutual antipathy has widened what now seems an impassable gulf. The exigencies of the conflict, as in the case of the above-mentioned Mantuan movement, have forced the church to ally itself with the conservative elements of society, which are mainly represented by the wealthy and privileged classes.

On the other hand, socialism in Italy has accepted the charge of irreligion and abandoned itself, however needlessly, to atheistic and materialistic theories. Hence the statement of an Italian writer that "the theistic socialism of the middle of the nineteenth century has definitively disappeared. The emancipation of the laboring class is conceived as the outcome of historical determinism, not as an object of evangelistic propaganda."<sup>13</sup> Thus it is as true as it is tragic that the church, which by tradition and vocation should be the helper of the oppressed, supports the *habentes* against the *non habentes*, while socialism, which by virtue of its moral fervor in the pursuit of social betterment should be religious, declares itself not only anticlerical, but antireligious.

But since socialism is not inherently irreligious, nor Roman Catholicism incurably feudalistic, there was room here for a new movement which could mediate between the two. It started under the direction of an able young priest, Don Romolo Murri, and called itself Christian Democracy. The *democristi*, as they are popularly known, proposed to emancipate the proletariat, first, by elevating the sense of Christian duty among employers; secondly, by establishing associations founded through the effort of the wage-earning classes; thirdly, by raising the laborer to the dignity of a sharer in the profits, and thus transforming the exist-

<sup>13</sup> Prezzolini, op. cit. p. 58.

ing social order. Moralized capitalism was made equivalent to co-operativism.

If the philosophy of the movement was at many points weak, at least its purpose was meritorious and full of good promise. It set itself the task of reconquering for the church what the latter had lost by negligence and lack of intelligent sympathy. The movement grew with wonderful rapidity, attracting to itself the progressive element among the clergy together with such laymen as the late Senator Fogazzaro, whose famous modernist novel, *The Saint*, was appropriated almost as a campaign document by Christian Democracy. Indeed, it was in connection with this movement that modernism first showed its real strength in Italy. It should be observed that its interest there was primarily in social reform, rather than in intellectual problems. Murri had as a student won prizes in scholastic theology, and, strange as it may seem in a man of such ability, has never abandoned scholasticism. His philosophy would hardly bring upon him the disapproval of the Vatican.

Thoughtful defenders of the new social ideals, however, were not long in discovering that the mediaeval theology and philosophy of the church were the offspring of an aristocratic view of the world and could not furnish a suitable basis for a democratic movement. A new world-view was needed as a dynamic for this programme of social reform, and modernism came forward with enthusiasm, glad to find itself practically useful. Influential clerics, silently deprecating the quarrel between the Vatican and the Quirinal, fell into line. At one time it seemed as though Cardinal Svampa of Bologna and Cardinal Agliarda of Rome had joined the progressives. Bishop Bonomelli even made noteworthy concessions to socialism when he said that he saw in it "the approach of a profound economic transformation of society whose outcome no one can as yet foretell or foresee. It is inevitable, however, and will be good."<sup>14</sup>

But the apparent reliance of the movement upon an economic theory opposed to the traditions of the church, and the opposition of rank and wealth whose hostility the hierarchy could not

<sup>14</sup> Il secolo che nasce, p. 11.

afford to excite, brought upon Christian Democracy the disapproval of the Vatican. By the encyclical *Graves de communi re* of 1900 the new party was forbidden to engage in political activity. The following year the Sacred Congregation of Ecclesiastical Affairs declared its hostility. Still severer measures were adopted by the present pope in 1905 and 1907, including the suspension *a divinis* of Don Romolo Murri and the interdiction of Fogazzaro's lectures and his *Rinascimento*. *The Saint* was placed on the Index, thereby enlarging its already enormous circulation.

Since the Christian Democratic party had derived its strength from a Roman Catholic membership it could not withstand papal condemnation. There were some among the leaders who were ready to defy the Vatican. But an article attributed to Cardinal Svampa advised submission.<sup>15</sup> "The proposals of resistance," he wrote, "we must disapprove. Because superior authority which possesses light that we do not have has intervened, the sacrifice of individual opinion is an obligation and should be a glory."

But even among the clergy many submitted with ill-concealed reluctance. The more ambitious of the younger members of the priesthood had joined the movement because it brought them into contact with modern thought and social ideals. It was hard to check the enthusiasm with which they had welcomed this new outlet for their energies. The following, which I translate from an anonymous book by one who calls himself a modernist priest, shows what feelings of resentment are smouldering beneath the surface.<sup>16</sup>

"The progress of Christian Democracy," he writes, "was unable to do more than hurt the susceptibilities of the Italian episcopate; an episcopate of a sort ignorant and do-nothing, full of haughtiness and negligence, bound by a double cord to the rich classes of their respective dioceses, and often maintained by them; an episcopate which lives remote from every contact with the popular mind, and is indifferent to every sense of sympathy with the ideals of our society. . . . The young priests, guilty of sympathizing with the labor movement, have been persecuted,

<sup>15</sup> *L'Avvenire d'Italia*, March 20, 1905.

<sup>16</sup> *Lettere di un prete modernista*, Rome, 1908, p. 60.

expelled from the seminaries, and made to obey the rancorous whims of authority."

Elsewhere in the volume he speaks of the "sleepy theodicy" preached by the papacy, which "blesses the inequalities of earth with the mirage of a coming celestial paradise"; and says, "In a word, the Catholic church of today is a big insurance society for the blessed of the earth, for gluttons of every caste and country, and is destined to die incapable of initiative or reform."

Discussing the future, he expresses his conviction that in the minds of the younger clergy there is germinating something more vital than Christian Democracy, now dead and buried. This something he calls Christian Socialism, or Christianity socialized; a conception which affirms resolutely the inseparability of the religious sentiment and the hope of social redemption. The success of socialism in conquering the masses he ascribes to the fact that it kindles the hope and desire for a secure material happiness on earth. Hopeless to him is every scheme for the elevation of the proletariat that rests upon the good pleasure of the employer. Socialism, at least, knows "that economic progress and the uplifting of the downtrodden can be achieved only at the cost of a relentless warfare against opposing class selfishness."

The conclusion of the discussion is so significant that I quote it in full:—

The ancient authority of the Vatican will hurl, as once did the Sanhedrim at the Rabbi of Nazareth, its anathema against the new hopes of its persecuted sons. But that anathema will fall back upon its own sterile dotage. In our social hopes with assurance we see reborn the better spirit of that evangel which is becoming the religion of humanity, offering the beauty of its hope to the hungering eyes of the oppressed. Perhaps we shall see a new Church, in the better meaning of this much abused word, rising beside the old. Whether my enthusiasm is giving me illusions I do not know, but I seem already to see a priesthood called to another mission than that humiliating one to which it is reduced today, with, for example, its cold ministry of the stereotyped word. I am dreaming of a priesthood that shall come to men with the mission of the Master and of comfort. I am dreaming of rites which shall symbolize to the eyes of a sane and virile society the beauty of life, and the light of progress unobstructible (p. 68).

In recent Italian literature no act of the Vatican has been more widely and severely criticised than its condemnation of Don Murri's movement. Everywhere in Italy men of thought and culture expressed to me their opinion that the fatal mistake of the Holy See has been its failure to understand the importance of this social movement. It was a life-preserver thrown out for the rescue of Italian Catholicism—only to be spurned. In the opinion of liberal minds in Italy the papacy has definitely committed itself by its own act to the maintenance not only of a mediaeval philosophy, but also of a mediaeval ideal of society. Italian socialists find in this further justification for their hostility to church and religion, and are using it to inculcate hatred of both in the minds of the wage-earning classes. The Ferrer riots only revealed, as by a lightning flash, the psychological changes which have been taking place there where ancient faith and goodwill toward the church seemed most deeply rooted—among the Italian proletariat.

In hierarchical circles the number and strength of those who are seeking a readjustment of the church to modern social conditions and needs are much underrated. A pamphlet, entitled "Why we are Christians as well as Socialists,"<sup>17</sup> expresses the feelings of many good Catholics who refuse to accept the Vatican's ruling that Christian and socialistic activities are incompatible with each other. Unfortunately prudential reasons prevent most of them from coming into the open. Their literary campaign, as a rule, is one of anonymity. This is an undeniable weakness. No moral reform has ever been achieved without the personal leadership of men who made fearless public avowal of responsibility for their convictions.

A noted Florentine journalist and editor has drawn an attractive picture of what might have happened if Don Murri had been given a cardinal's hat. Might not the Pope one day have descended the steps of the Vatican with Murri by his side, both on their way to give their salutation and benediction to one of those groups of socialists whose spirit and work find few parallels outside the annals of apostolic Christianity? It may seem the fancy of a dis-

<sup>17</sup> *Perchè siamo cristiani e socialisti: a cura dei socialisti cristiani di Roma, Rome, 1908.*



ordered brain; "but it well represents what should have been the papal attitude in order to save Roman Catholicism. It is now too late. The latter is dying, and a universal Catholicism is rising in its place."<sup>18</sup> Murri has become an active opponent of ecclesiasticism and the leader of the National Democratic League, a new name for what he has been able to save out of the wreck of Christian Democracy. He is the first priest who has been elected by socialists to a seat in the Italian parliament, where his fine ability is on the side of the Radicals.

## II

Turning now to another phase of our subject, it behooves us to consider Italian modernism in its theological and philosophical rather than in its social relations. The discerning student will already have perceived that Italian modernism differs from that of France and England in the salient features of its public manifestations. The writings of Loisy, Blondel, and Tyrrell are concerned chiefly with doctrinal reform, with the readjustment of the church's teaching to modern thought. Italian modernism, in the person of its two leading representatives, Murri and Fogazzaro, has been chiefly identified with social reform and a vain endeavor to make peace between the Vatican and the Quirinal.

It is a well-known fact that the mass of the Italian people are utterly indifferent to matters of religious doctrine. The causes of this indifference have been convincingly set forth by Professor Labanca.<sup>19</sup> Survivals of the religious indifferentism created by the Roman Empire, the abolishment of the theological faculties at the universities, the repressive action of the Vatican, the long rule of dogmatism, and the settled habit of Italian men of science and philosophers to omit religion from their thinking, have all had a share in bringing about the present state of religious apathy. In any case there can be no doubt about the existence of a widespread religious indifference. Villari goes so far as to assert that the Italians who "know nothing and care nothing about religion"

<sup>18</sup> "Il cattolicesimo romano muore, e ciò che vive è il cattolicesimo umano."

<sup>19</sup> *Difficoltà antiche e nuove degli studi religiosi in Italia*. Translation by L. H. Jordan, in *The Study of Religion in the Italian Universities*, 1909.

constitute "the majority of the upper orders and of the people of culture, and probably of the whole population. The public services, the bar, the medical profession, the universities, the business world, literature and art, are filled with persons who believe in no religious principles."<sup>20</sup> It is no uncommon experience to find cultivated university students who have never read a page of the Bible. Books on religion are seldom met with outside of ecclesiastical establishments. The only part of the Scriptures which I ever saw prominently and generally exposed for sale in Italy was a translation of the Song of Songs.

A modernist propaganda in Italy conducted along theological lines is therefore foredoomed to slow progress. Being of an essentially non-theological cast of mind, the average Italian cares nothing about issues that would profoundly stir an American or an English public. But the improvement of social conditions in Italy is so imperative that the economic aspect of religion is a matter of deep concern to all the inhabitants of the peninsula. This explains Murri's dominant interest as a modernist and the great following which he speedily secured. It also throws light upon socialism's easy conquest of the proletariat, whose formal allegiance to the church is unable to withstand the assault of an anticlerical socialist propaganda based on economic considerations. Since adherence to the church in Italy means in most cases adherence only to the external forms of religion, it is not surprising that the resulting defection assumes the aspect of a lapse into irreligion. Professor Labanca doubts whether there is faith enough left in Italy for a real heresy trial. A public which does not possess deep religious convictions of a personal kind cannot be said to lose them when its indifference toward religion turns into active opposition to ecclesiasticism.

Another social phenomenon needs to be mentioned in this connection. Observers who are acquainted with freemasonry in England and America are often surprised to find it engaged in an antireligious propaganda in France and Italy. Needless to say, this is a purely adventitious characteristic of this order in these countries. English freemasonry separated from the freemasonry

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 121.

of France in 1877, when the latter declared that belief in God was not obligatory for membership.<sup>21</sup> In Latin countries this organization has since then played an increasing part in politics, and its democratic, or republican, tendencies have inevitably brought it into conflict with the political pretensions of the Vatican. In Italy it is a very powerful political factor and an uncompromising foe of clericalism. For a politician of radical tendencies to enroll himself among the freemasons is a common occurrence. Signor Nathan, the mayor of Rome, whose strong anticlerical speech last September gave great offence to the Vatican, is a mason of high rank. That the anticlericalism of freemasonry has in Italy developed largely into an antireligious propaganda is probably in no small part due to the long-continued and bitter hostility between the masonic fraternity and the Papacy;<sup>22</sup> for in the heat of their antagonisms most Italian masons have failed to distinguish between ecclesiasticism and religion.<sup>23</sup> It seems very unfortunate that the conditions and tendencies described should have produced indifference and antagonism to religion in so many spheres of public life; but this may ultimately prove another case in which the passage from one type of religion to another leads through negation—through irreligion, if you please. Signs are not wanting which tend to show that the present anticlerical reaction, with its accompaniment of irreligious tendencies, is but the trough of the wave. Italian social modernism is preparing the way for an inchoate, but vital, intellectual modernism, that will stand resolutely for the truth of facts and for an untraditionalized conscience.

It is well to remember that in Italy the modernist movement began as a philosophical attempt to bridge the chasm between mediaeval Catholicism and the spirit of the new age. Count Antonio Rosmini (1797–1855) and Vincenzo Gioberti (1801–1852)

<sup>21</sup> Solomon Reinach, *Orpheus*, p. 572.

<sup>22</sup> The Roman pontificate has condemned freemasonry since 1738; in the following year membership in the order was made punishable with death. In 1884 Leo XIII renewed the condemnation of freemasonry with particular solemnity and severity.

<sup>23</sup> The Italian public press is now discussing the interpenetration of socialism and masonry, with anticlericalism as the common bond. Cf. *Sempre Avanti*, July 15, 1910; "La massoneria nel socialismo," *La Voce*, no. 33, 1910.

were the forerunners of modernism, although they were called Reform Catholics. Both were devout adherents of the church, and, like their successors of the present time, were not in entire agreement with each other. Some writings of the former were placed on the Index during his lifetime, and forty of his propositions were censured in 1887. The Rosminians today form a considerable body within the Roman church, and many see in their opposition to the Jesuits the promise of a time when they will join hands with more aggressive modernist reformers. Gioberti's writings are proving an armory of keen weapons for the campaign of ecclesiastical reform. He was in his day a vigorous opponent of the Society of Jesus, in whose aims and activities he saw a grave danger for Roman Catholicism. Jesuitism, he declared, was willing "for the sake of heaven to slay the earth."

Many among the more intellectual leaders of reform do not hesitate to recognize kindred spirits in Dante, Giordano Bruno, Aonio Paleario, and Marsilio of Padua. Especially interesting is the part which Dante is made to play in the reform movement. It is pointed out that the Jesuits, with a few notable exceptions, have cordially hated the poet for three hundred years. His ideals, embodied in his poem, are not theirs. The popes in the simonists' circle of the *Inferno* are his undying answer to the doctrine of papal infallibility. A reformer of practice and political theory within the church, he did not hesitate to fling down the gauntlet to Boniface VIII; in doing so, he said he was "not interfering with the ark, but with the refractory oxen that were dragging it out of the path."<sup>24</sup>

It is at first sight surprising that the *Divina commedia* escaped a place on the Index beside the *De monarchia*. But a literary masterpiece that had created a language and opened a national literature, a poem that had sung itself into the hearts and lives of a people for three centuries, was beyond the power even of the Jesuits to condemn or dislodge. Only in Spain, in 1612, did the Inquisition dare to proscribe a few of the most obnoxious passages.

On the other hand, it must be recognized that Dante, though

<sup>24</sup> Ep. viii, 5; cf. *Purgatorio*, xvi, 109, 127 ff.

accusing individual popes of "trampling on the good and raising up the wicked," preserved a profound respect for the functions and power of the papal office. It is to be remembered, also, that Leo XIII was not only an enthusiastic student of Dante, but established in 1886 a permanent course of lectures on Dante at the *Istituto Leoniano* in Rome. Coming in connection with the Thomistic revival, this was an exceedingly wise move, for there is no more persuasive teacher of Thomistic theology and philosophy than the great Florentine. It has also tended to disarm modernists who are seeking to make capital out of Dante's courageous refusal to subordinate his opinions to papal authority. Nevertheless, the reformers appear to have the better reason in their claim that Dante's influence makes for tolerance and progress.

The particular views and aims of the men whose names are publicly associated with the modernist movement in Italy are not reducible to any definite formula. Many of them would refuse to be classified as modernists. In Italy, as elsewhere, modernism is a very complex phenomenon. But in all cases it means a revolt against absolutism in religion, and an attempt to adjust traditional doctrine and practice to a new intellectual world controlled by the conception of development. The static is in conflict with the dynamic. "The little fifteenth-century world of the Vatican," a phrase often in the mouth of modernists, discloses in a larger way the animus of the movement.

Among its foremost promoters is to be reckoned an able Old Testament scholar, Professor Salvatore Minocchi, formerly of the Royal Institute of Advanced Studies at Florence, now connected with the University of Pisa. He was a classmate of Murri, and studied under the noted Hebraist David Castelli. In 1901 he founded his bi-monthly *Review of Religious Studies*,<sup>25</sup> which soon became a recognized clearing-house of liberal thought among the Italian clergy. In 1907 he published, with the approbation and protection of Cardinal Svampa, a critical translation of the prophecies of Isaiah. This work and a Commentary on Genesis were condemned "by a device of the Bible Commission,"

<sup>25</sup> *Rivista di studi religiosi*, 7 vols., Florence, 1901-07.

which consisted in selecting for disapproval the theses he upheld. It was during the year 1907, also, that he travelled in Russia and the Orient "in order to visit, with a free moral and social aim, the Italian workmen who were employed on the Russian railways." "An article of a modernist tendency," he writes, "which I published on August 14th in the *Giornale d' Italia*, on the subject of my visit to Tolstoy and of our conversation on the great problem of the day, made a great stir in Italy, and was even noticed abroad. It brought me to the step of breaking with the Vatican."<sup>26</sup> He was suspended, and, like many others, submitted, stopping the publication of his review. He has since then withdrawn from the priesthood, but his modernist activity continues unabated.

One of Minocchi's collaborators in the *Religious Studies* was Umberto Fracassini, president of the Seminary at Perugia. After Pius X issued his famous encyclical *Pascendi* he dutifully submitted. His recently published book, "What is the Bible?"<sup>27</sup> evades those questions of critical scholarship which would bring him into conflict with the Vatican. In a review of the book contributed to *La Voce*<sup>28</sup> Minocchi, after praising the author's ability, says: "I only deplore that this man of knowledge, full of moral sentiment, should have to torture his thoughts so atrociously in order to remain united with a church that has no words of life for her own faithful sons. After the encyclical *Pascendi* Umberto Fracassini, it seems to me, should not have allowed the opportunity to escape him to bear noble testimony to conscience, science, and the open truth, against this moribund papal Catholicism."

More conservative and less aggressive, but widely known and respected in Italy as a thoughtful scholar is Padre Giovanni Semeria of Genoa. His particular field of inquiry is the early history of Christianity and the origins of dogma. His work, he declares, is the result of a sincere effort to combine devoutness with critical inquiry. "If," he writes, "I have not always been sufficiently exact or profound, it is not because I am a believer,

<sup>26</sup> The New Age, June 2, 1910.

<sup>27</sup> Che cos' è la Bibbia?

<sup>28</sup> "La Bibbia modernista," in *La Voce*, April 21, 1910.

but because I am ignorant. If I have not succeeded in giving to my work a high moral tone, or spiritual warmth, it is not because I am a critic, but because of my moral deficiency, because I am not sufficiently good." In another connection he says that he is serving not merely an historical interest in the pursuit of his studies, but also a practical purpose, in so far as the results help to shake up that traditionalism which "still is too much in honor among us; were it respect for tradition it would be just and proper, but being worship of tradition it is false and noxious."

The scope of this article does not permit me to discuss in detail the work of other interesting leaders who are working and waiting for the dawn of a better day in Italy. Paolo Savi, a Barnabite like his friend Semeria, has gone to his long account. Giovanni Gennocchi was deposed by Leo XIII from his professorship in the Seminary at Rome, but his translation of the gospels is reported to have had a sale of more than three hundred thousand copies. Ernesto Buonaiuti, formerly professor of church history at Rome, was denounced and deposed in 1906 for his article, "*Filosofia dell' azione*," in Minocchi's *Religious Studies*. He is now editor of the *Historico-Critical Review of the Theological Sciences*,<sup>29</sup> one of the ablest Italian publications with friendly leanings toward modernism. Gennaro Avolio, the able editor of the *Battaglie d' oggi* of Naples, is working for the abolition of compulsory celibacy of the priesthood, and has founded an institution in aid of priests who renounce clerical orders. The reforms advocated by Avolio find their explanation in the serious indictment which many well-informed writers are bringing against the morality of the clergy in southern Italy.<sup>30</sup> Avolio has been excommunicated for his pains.

It would be easy to increase the list of names which have been mentioned here and elsewhere in the article. But no good purpose would be served by furnishing information about men who desire to do their work quietly until the wind sits in another quarter at the Vatican. The traditionalists who in the *Civiltà Cattolica* make merry over the "conspiracy of three or four rationalists" are destined some time to have a great surprise.

<sup>29</sup> Rivista storico-critica delle scienze teologiche, Rome, 1905-.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Prezzolini, op. cit. p. 74.

I do not know on what data Paul Sabatier<sup>31</sup> relies for his estimate that perhaps half of the younger clergy have already allied themselves with the modernist movement. But my observations and experiences in Italy lead me to think that it is not far from the truth. The social awakening of a large part of the clergy has aroused an uncommon amount of intellectual activity. What has been generally true of great religious movements, that reforms in doctrine originate in attempts to reform practice, may find a new illustration in Italy. But modernists will have to abandon their policy of advance and retreat, of making a courageous stand today and submitting again tomorrow, before they can win a large following among men who value truth above authority or comfort. A "domesticated modernism"—so Minocchi describes the attitude of those who have submitted—may buy peace at the expense of intellectual freedom, but will find that on those terms it is the peace of the dead, not of the living.

There is in Florence a group of independent thinkers to whom the late Professor William James once referred with warm appreciation. Their rallying-point is a remarkable Philosophical Library founded by an American woman. Under the auspices of its *Circolo di Filosofia* a notable convention met in Florence recently for the discussion of sexual problems. Courses of lectures by men of national reputation are provided annually. In 1908 the Italian philosopher Giovanni Papini delivered a lecture under the significant title, "The Religion of those who have left the Churches."<sup>32</sup> The lecturer pointed out that according to the last census there are in Italy about two hundred thousand persons who have declared themselves adherents of no religion whatsoever.<sup>33</sup> This number, he averred, was but a small fraction of those who have actually left the churches. After enumerating the various elements that make up this large number, he comes to a class of persons "who have left the church, but not religion; all those who by the strong contrast between their inward aspira-

<sup>31</sup> Modernism (Jowett Lectures), London, 1908; also an article with the same title in the *Contemporary Review*, March, 1908.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Bollettino della biblioteca filosofica*, no. 2, January, 1909.

<sup>33</sup> *Censimento*, vol. iv, p. 330. Papini groups together those who refuse to declare themselves adherents of any religion and those who claim to be "without religion."



tions and the outward reality, between the spiritual church for which they have lived and fought and the Vatican, have been forced to leave the bosom of the sacred mother church, though they have remained intimately and profoundly religious." These, he thinks, will have to seek the satisfaction of their religious needs outside of the church.

Within the socialist camp, also, there are far-sighted men who are beginning to reassert the claims of religion, independently of Roman Catholicism. Referring to the essentially materialistic Italian socialism of today, one writes: "Humanity is now moving toward a state of spiritual concentration. . . . Socialism is closing its eyes to this irresistible fact of the present time, and is, therefore, as conservative in its way as the church. But truth is stronger than any argument based upon facts which the present has emptied of reality. It is time for socialism to realize that humanity in spite of everything, even in contravention, if necessary, of its material interests, will resistlessly take the way of the spirit. Men have abandoned the papal church in order to make the most of the recent splendid period of material progress, but now they feel the necessity of a return to religion. . . . Nevertheless we are not for a moment thinking of going to Canossa. . . . Let us take the initiative of a reform more radical [than that proposed by the modernists], and, in order to do that, let us begin by recognizing above all the value and reality of man's religious needs. Then men will follow us and not the modernists, who at heart are priests even more completely than the irreconcilable pope." <sup>34</sup>

The actual place and prospects of Protestantism among these new tendencies challenge inquiry at this point. Many superficial students of modernism have seen in it a movement toward Protestantism. Not a few among Roman Catholics accuse modernists of being crypto-protestants. But it should be clearly recognized that modernism is neither a movement toward Protestantism, nor Protestantism in disguise. It is an independent movement, and has elements of originality and greatness which Protestants may profitably study. Minocchi's reply in the

<sup>34</sup> "Religione e socialismo," in *L' Idea Moderna*, April, 1910.

*Coenobium*,<sup>35</sup> denying the rumor that he was thinking of becoming a Protestant, describes the attitude of nearly all Italian modernists whom I know. "Not even in my dreams could I think of becoming a Protestant." The reason he gives, that Protestantism bases its conception of religion upon a static, and modernism upon a dynamic, foundation is completely true neither of the one nor of the other, both being engaged in the transition from a static to a dynamic basis. But the essential point is the fact that modernism is not a feeder of Protestantism.

Furthermore, Protestant denominations in Italy, so far as I have been able to observe, are not profiting by the wide-spread defection from Roman Catholicism. Whether this is because the alienated masses conceive Protestantism to stand for the same kind of mediaevalism from which they are reacting, or whether it is because of a tactless and ineffective propaganda, I am unable to say. Certain it is that the proportion of Protestants to Catholics in Italy is inconsiderable. According to the last census (1901) there were, in round numbers, of male inhabitants more than fifteen years old, 10,280,000 Roman Catholics, 26,000 Protestants, and 13,000 Jews. Considering that foreign residents and travellers are included among Protestants, their number is so small that it constitutes at present a negligible quantity among the social and religious forces of Italy.

The great outstanding fact of the present situation is the anticlerical movement which from various quarters is assailing Roman Catholicism. Socialism from without, and modernism from within, are weakening the absolutism and prestige of the Vatican. A canvass of the leading daily papers of Italy shows that more than half of them are anticlerical. Two of the oldest, *La Nazione* and *Corriere della Sera*, the former of Florence, the latter of Milan, have remained moderately conservative. But the very influential organ *Il Secolo*, over forty-five years old, and now the mouth-piece of the radical group of Lombardy, is strongly anticlerical. A number of very able reviews like the *Coenobium* and *Il Rinascimento* are disseminating the knowledge and influence of modernism throughout the peninsula. Both have been put upon the Index, but they are continuing on their way undeterred.

<sup>35</sup> *Coenobium*, 1909, no. 1, p. 150.

No one who has watched of late the horizon of Italy's agitated public life can fail to see that ominous clouds are gathering above the Vatican. Will some Benedetto, as in Fogazzaro's impressive night-scene, succeed in slipping past the cabal of cardinals to carry warning of the coming storm to one who is in truth a prisoner?

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In order to help those who may wish to make a more detailed study of modernism and social movements in Italy, I subjoin a list of the more important books and pamphlets. A special effort has been made to ascertain the existence of English translations. Few such are actually known to me, but I have noted the cases in which they are reported to have been made. Various writings by Alfred Loisy and the late George Tyrrell, which frequently bear on conditions in Italy, have been mentioned in the article by Professor McGiffert on "Modernism and Catholicism" (*Harvard Theological Review*, January, 1910) and have, therefore, not been included in the following bibliography. My thanks are due to a number of Italian friends for valuable suggestions.

André, Tony, *Modernisme et modernistes en Italie*, Paris, 1908.

[Anonymous], *A Pio X: Quello che vogliamo: Lettera aperta di un gruppo di sacerdoti*, 1907 (translated into English: *To Pius X: What we Want: An Open Letter from a Group of Priests*, London, 1907). A rejoinder to the Papal Allocution of April 17, 1907.

[Anonymous], *Il programma dei modernisti: Risposta all' enciclica di Pio X, "Pascendi Dominici Gregis,"* Rome, 1907 (translated into English: *The Programme of Modernism*, London, 1908; German translation: *Programm der italienischen Modernisten*, Jena, 1908). A work of first importance.

[Anonymous], *Lettere di un prete modernista*, Rome, 1908. A remarkable book. Valuable for the light it throws on the social ideals of Italian modernism.

[Anonymous], "The Religious Conditions of Italy," *Quarterly Review*, October, 1902. Attributed to a Protestant pastor well known in Florence.

[Anonymous], *Una crisi d'anime nel cattolicesimo*, Florence, 1907 (translated into English: *A Soul-crisis in Catholicism*, London, 1908). A startling arraignment of official Catholicism by a group of modernist priests.

Bonomelli, G., *Il secolo che nasce* (translated into German: *Das neue Jahrhundert*, Munich, 1905). The author, who is the Bishop of Cremona, has written with evident appreciation of the modern social awakening in Italy. In his *Il culto religioso: difetti e abusi*, Cremona, 1905, he exposes superstitious forms of worship. Very useful is another of his

books, translated into German: *Religiös-soziale Tagesfragen*, Munich, 1906. In 1889 his book, *Roma, Italia, e la realtà delle cose*, was placed on the Index.

Fogazzaro, Antonio, *Il Santo*, Milan, 1906 (translated into English: *The Saint*, London, 1906; into German: *Der Heilige*, by Gagliardi, Munich and Leipzig, 1906). This much-discussed novel portrays the religious psychology of the awakened Italian laity.

Gentile, Giovanni, *Il modernismo e i rapporti tra religione e filosofia*, Bari, 1909. The author is professor of the history of philosophy in the University of Palermo, and editor of Giordano Bruno's *Dialoghi metafisici*.

Grille, Giovanni, *La renaissance religieuse dans l'Italie contemporaine*, Paris, 1907 (translated into English: London, 1908).

Holl, Karl, *Modernismus*, Tübingen, 1908. A brief general discussion of modernism.

Holtzmann, Heinrich, *Reformkatholisches aus Italien, Frankreich und England*, *Protestantische Monatshefte*, 1908, pp. 41-74, 171-174. Gives full references to literature.

Jordan, L. H., and Labanca, B., *The Study of Religion in the Italian Universities*, London and New York, 1909. Contains an excellent survey of the modernist movement in Italy.

Kübel, Johannes, *Geschichte des katholischen Modernismus*, Tübingen, 1909. One chapter is specially devoted to Italian modernism. Full references to German publications.

Labanca, B., "I cattolici modernisti e i cattolici tradizionalisti," in *Nuovo sillabo e l'ultima enciclica di Pio X*, Rome, 1907.

Labriola, Arturo, *Riforme e rivoluzione sociale*, 2d ed., Lugano, 1906. The author is one of the foremost radical leaders of Italian socialism.

Luzzi, Giovanni, "The Roman Catholic Church in Italy at the Present Hour," in *Hibbert Journal*, February, 1910. Written by a Waldensian pastor who is not in sympathy with the critical wing of Italian modernism.

Michels, Roberto, *Il proletariato e la borghesia nel movimento socialista italiano*, Turin, 1908. One of the most important recent books on Italian labor and social movements. The author is professor of sociology in the University of Turin.

Murri, Don Romolo, *La vita religiosa nel cristianesimo*, Rome, 1908;

*La filosofia nuova e l'enciclica contro il modernismo*, Rome, 1907.

*La politica clericale e la democrazia*, Rome, 1908. Murri is the foremost modernist reform leader in Italy. His chief interest is in social reform. An interesting record of the struggle in which he was engaged will be found in his *Battaglie d'oggi* (*Battles of Today*), 4 vols., Rome, 1901-04. The fourth volume is devoted almost entirely to the Christian Democracy movement in Italy.

Nitti, Francesco, *Il socialismo cattolico*, Turin, 1891 (translated into English: *Catholic Socialism*). The author is connected with the University of Naples. It is the leading book on the subject.

Prezzolini, Giuseppe, *Il cattolicismo rosso*, Naples, 1908. Important for its keen and fearless discussion of needed reforms within Catholicism. The author, editor of the Florentine paper *La Voce*, is a man of philosophical training. Provides copious references to current literature on modernism. His bibliographical knowledge of the subject is probably unrivalled in the world. Declares himself a "non-cattolico." *I cattolici rossi*, 1909, by the same author. Discusses Newman, Tyrrell, von Hügel, Loisy, Blondel, Laberthonnière, Murri, and Fogazzaro.

Robertson, A., *The Roman Catholic Church in Italy*, London, 1903.

Sabatier, Paul, *Modernism* (The Jowett Lectures), London, 1908. Includes an estimate of conditions in Italy. See also an article with the same title in the *Contemporary Review*, March, 1908.

Salvadori, Count Guglielmo, "Die moderne religiöse Bewegung in Italien," in *Religion und Geisteswissenschaft*, 1908, iii, pp. 248-269. By a well-informed Protestant observer in Pisa.

Semeria, Giovanni, *Scienza e fede e il loro preteso conflitto*, Rome, 1903. *Venticinque anni di storia del cristianesimo nascente*, 1900. Semeria is one of the more conservative leaders of reform within Catholicism.

Thayer, William R., *Italica*, Boston, 1908. The two chapters, "Fogazzaro and his Masterpiece," and "Italy in 1907."